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MANUEL L. QUEZON'S SPEECH ON THE NEW FREEDOM IN THE PHILIPPINES

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 17824) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1914, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, since the Democratic Party has been in power in the Philippines we have occasionally heard grumblings of discontent from certain gentlemen in this country and in the Philippines which seem to arise out of the fact that that great man and Democrat, Gov. Gen. Burton Harrison, formerly a distinguished Member of this House, is governing those far-off islands in the interest of the Filipino people instead of in the interest of the Sugar Trust, the Harvester Trust, and Republican politicians.

The ring of disgruntled ones is composed mainly of a group of controlled newspapers, trust magnates, and former office-holders in the Philippines, who are up in arms because the new administration has interfered with and reversed the old policy of exploitation of the Philippines and the Filipinos.

Gov. Gen. Harrison is sincerely endeavoring to get the Filipinos ready to take charge of their own government, and it is only to be expected that there should be a wail of anguish go heavenward from special privilege.

The fact is, however, that the Filipino people realize the new administration in the Philippines has their interest at heart, and they are glad indeed that there has been a change of administration. They bless the day it came.

In this connection I wish to insert in the RECORD a speech delivered by the Hon. MANUEL L. QUEZON, Delegate to the United States from the Philippine Islands, before the Chamber of Industry at Cleveland, Ohio, April 14. Mr. QUEZON's work in this country for the earliest possible independence of the islands is known to every Member of this Congress, in which body he is held in the highest esteem.

The speech of Mr. QUEZON follows:

THE DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE FILIPINO PEOPLE.

"Mr. Toastmaster and gentlemen of the Chamber of Industry, in view of the fact that this is preeminently a gathering of business men, it would perhaps have been more appropriate had I selected for my topic the agricultural, commercial, or industrial conditions in the Philippines. I have, however, decided to touch upon a loftier subject—the duty of the United States toward the Filipino people.

"Americans have the reputation of being, and they are, a practical people, but not, I am convinced, 'practical' to the extent of sacrificing their sense of national rectitude to the desire to make money. On the contrary, from what I personally know of the characteristics of Americans, in addition to what is to be gathered from their history, I believe that much as they, being human, take a fancy to the pleasant twinkle of a double eagle, the feeble blaze of gold is, and I hope will always be, as nothing compared with the steady light of patriotism which has ever been the American's guide in political as well as economic affairs. You Americans refused to pay a nominal duty on tea, and yet were ready to spend every cent and sacrifice every man in this land to uphold your principle that 'taxation without representation is tyranny.' You would not give one cent for tribute, but millions for defense. You waged among yourselves the bloodiest war of modern times because of the doctrine that no nation can endure half slave and half free. You must therefore be interested to consider not only the cold question whether the Philippine Islands, looked upon as a national investment, pay or do not 'pay,' but the additional question—by far the more important of the two—what the nature of the duty of the United States toward the people of the islands really is.

"Fortunately for you in this case, duty goes hand in hand with your pecuniary interests.

"The days when nations considered themselves free to do with and to one another as they pleased are, thank God, over. No decent public opinion would to-day countenance the naked proposition that a stronger nation may, simply because of its strength, arbitrarily impose its will on a weaker. No one now dares to deny that the moral laws which bind individuals in their intercourse are equally binding upon nations. One nation dealing with another is expected to carry out its promises, if specific promises are made; or, in the absence of special compact, to maintain an attitude suggested at once by the principles which form the bulwark of its political existence, and by the law of nations.

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"Gauged by the foregoing ideas the duty of the United States to the Philippines is plain: Congress should enact a law giving the Filipinos their independence. The reasons are these:

"First. That this country has promised, both expressly and by implication, to withdraw its sovereignty from the Philippine Islands—by implication, when upon the declaration of war between the United States and Spain the Government of the United States asserted that that war was not waged for territorial aggrandizement or commercial expansion; expressly, in that the past Republican and the present Democratic administrations have both declared it to be the policy of the United States to give the Filipino people their independence when they can establish and maintain a government of their own competent to discharge its obligations both domestic and foreign.

"Second. That the fundamental propositions upon which the Declaration of Independence was based and from which it acquires its obvious justification are these two great and complementary principles: (1) That all Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, and (2) that the right is inherent in every people to establish such government as to them shall seem best.

"How could you then impose your government upon the Filipinos and call the action just when its powers are not derived from the consent of the governed? How can you deny to the Filipinos the right to establish such government as to them shall seem best and yet remain true to your own principles?

"Under these principles and in the light of those solemn promises, could you now, if you would, turn around because of the insidious campaign of a few interested persons and forever retain the Philippines under the pretext of some religious, scientific, or other alleged beneficent motive? Would you, if you could, do a thing that would place upon your history an indelible stain? The answer of every self-respecting American can be but an energetic 'no' to those questions.

POLITICAL CAPACITY OF THE FILIPINOS.

"But, it is said, this is a settled matter; the Filipinos will most assuredly have their independence; it is only a question of time; they will be free in five or four or perhaps three generations, if at that time they wish to be free from us. Let me tell those who thus speak that the question of time is all important here. Those who promise an independence to be granted when you and I and our sons and grandsons are all dead and properly buried are either insincere and too shrewd to disclose to the American people the real purpose which underlies their protestations, or, if they are honest, they have been fooled. Indeed, for all practical purposes, in so far as the

American and the Filipino peoples are now concerned, to promise that the Philippines shall be free in the course of the next hundred or seventy-five years is tantamount to an assertion that the islands are permanently annexed to the United States.

"What would that promise amount to when you, who make it, shall not redeem it, and we, to whom the promise is made, shall not live to see it realized? Can you by your pledge bind generations yet unborn?

"But, the objectors assert, the Filipinos are not ready and will not be ready for self-government for years and years to come. This talk of independence is all folly. It is but the cry of a few Filipino politicians, who, disguised as patriots, desire to get power in their hands in order that they may enslave and exploit their own people, but who will not be able to maintain any kind of government, because they will soon be cutting each other's throats in a mad scramble for office.

"To this the Filipinos unanimously say: We all want independence and are entitled to it. The argument of Filipino incapacity for self-government is hypocritical. It is the veil with which the American officeholder covers his desire to keep his place. It is the ambush behind which lurks the company which monopolizes our hemp and the sugar interest, which have already acquired, in defiance of an act of Congress, 65,000 acres of land in one tract, and are ready to get more if given time and opportunity. Or at best it is the wish father to the thought of some American missionaries or churchmen who mistakenly think that they can make more converts among the wild men of the Philippines if they are backed by American soldiers.

"Our adversaries proceed: The masses of the people in the Philippines are in such a state of dense ignorance that they know nothing and care less about independence. Those people are semicivilized, if not entirely savages. Some of them eat dogs, and for proof we refer you to the St. Louis Exposition, where Igorots were exhibited engaged in that toothsome pastime. As further proof of the deplorable condition of those people behold the 'moving' and 'nonmoving' pictures of naked natives armed with bows and arrows and spears. It would be a pity to see this people adrift. The Government of the United States alone can civilize them, and it must, for the sake of humanity, undertake and carry to its successful termination this altruistic work.

"Again the Filipinos answer: We know that we are a civilized people and have been civilized for 300 years. We know that there are only 600,000 non-Christians in the Philippines, while there are 7,000,000 Christians, 65 per cent of whom were literate before American occupation, and at least fully 75 per

cent of whom now are. We know that we had a university in the Philippines even before Harvard University was established and that now we have two. We know that we had 1,674 public schools before American occupation, distributed among 900 towns, and now we have 4,404. We know that we had colleges in every important capital city and several in Manila for both men and women before American occupation, and that now the number has greatly increased. We know that there are Filipinos in the supreme court of the islands—the chief justice being one of them—who are at least equal to their American associates. We know that half of the judges of the court of first instance are Filipinos. We know that all the justices of the peace are Filipinos. We know that the municipal and provincial governments are administered by Filipinos elected by Filipino voters. We know that the Philippine Assembly, the lower house of the legislature, is composed entirely of Filipinos, also elected by Filipino voters; and we know that if permitted to elect the upper house of the legislature we would elect senators who would be equal to their task. We know that we could elect a president who would be at least as wise and patriotic as any chief executive the President of the United States could appoint over us.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE PHILIPPINES.

"Finally our opponents end this controversy by exclaiming, Behold Mexico to-day. If you make the Philippines independent, another Mexican situation, which would perplex the United States with a repetition of the 'watchful waiting' policy, is sure to arise.

"This Mexican argument seems effective nowadays. I do not know much about Mexico and the causes that lay at the root of this unfortunate disturbance in that Republic. But there is something I can say in connection with this argument. In the first place, when we judge other people's affairs it is well to remember that paragraph of the Scriptures which tells us, in effect, that we should be fully aware of the beam in our own eye before commenting on the mote in that of our neighbor. What nation on the face of the earth has been free from internal disorders or revolution? What nation can say that it will ever be free from this, the most dreadful calamity that can befall any country?

"In the second place, let me give you some points respecting the principal differences between conditions in Mexico and conditions in the Philippines, which may explain why we confidently expect that that which is going on in the distressed Republic of Mexico will not happen in the islands if free from the control of the United States. I am making no invidious

comparisons, but merely stating facts. Mexico acquired its independence from Spain by force of arms, and previous to that time the people of Mexico took no part in the government of their country. Despotic foreign absolutism was the kind of government that prevailed in Mexico until then. Once independent, a democratic form of government was established. The change was so radical that the failure of the new government was inevitable. Moreover, the great majority of the people (upon which democratic governments must depend) did not have either education or property, and therefore did not possess those qualifications leading to the maintenance of public order and of law. To this day knowledge and wealth are still the monopoly of the few. In the Philippines, on the contrary, the majority of the people are literate and property owners. Besides, we have been practicing the art of self-government for 15 years under American supervision. During this time we have been electing our provincial and municipal officials, members of our assembly, and, although the political campaigns in the Philippines are heated, we have abided by the results of the elections or have gone to the courts with our protests. We have never resorted to arms to settle any controversy. Now, gentlemen, these are precisely the conditions that give stability to a democratic government—an intelligent and property-owning electorate habituated to respect the will of the majority.

"But after all is said and done, the question as to the Filipino capacity for self-government can be satisfactorily answered only by a practical showing.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S POLICY.

"President Wilson has undoubtedly realized this fact, for he has adopted a policy whereby the question can be settled in the only practical way. After reaffirming the oft-avowed policy that independence is the goal toward which you would move as rapidly as the safety and permanent interest of the people of the Philippines would permit, the President has appointed a majority of Filipinos in the Upper House, thus giving us the control of both branches of our legislature so that we may fully show our legislative capacity. The Governor General of the Philippines at the same time, in harmony with the policy of the President, is appointing Filipinos to responsible administrative positions. If, in this test, the Filipinos are successful, the speedy end of your occupation of the islands should come. If the Filipinos fail, there will be a halt, and friends of colonialism may claim, at least, a temporary victory.

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"Is there any fair person who could object to such a policy? If our opponents are sincere in their contention that they object to our freedom only because we are not fit to be free, why should they object to this practical test? If we are really incapable of assuming and exercising any governmental power, is not this the surest and quickest way of finding it out? I must admit that this policy did not altogether suit the Filipinos. We expected and hoped for a more decisive step than this. We construed declarations made by the Democratic leaders and contained in the Democratic platform as meaning the immediate enactment of a law that would grant Philippine independence as soon as the Democrats came into power. And we were the more prepared to construe the platform thus, because, in our opinion, no further test of our political capacity was necessary considering that during 15 years of Republican administration we had successfully handled each new administrative task submitted to our control. Yet in spite of our natural and justifiable anxiety to obtain our independence without delay, having absolute faith in the honesty of purpose of your great President whom we all admire and love, we have determined patiently to abide by his decision and have been willing to await and give him the time to observe the results of the test to which he has just put us. But our opponents were not prepared to adopt a similar attitude. Why? Simply because they feared the outcome. They know that in this trial the Filipinos will be successful and they are not ready to give us a fair chance.

MALICIOUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDEPENDENCE.

"So, since the Democratic Party's victory at the polls in November, 1912, up to this day our adversaries have been misrepresenting conditions in the Philippines in their endeavor to poison American public opinion. Upon the receipt of the news that a Democratc administration had been elected they asserted that the mere triumph of the Democratic Party, carrying with it the possibility of Philippine independence, had shaken our social, economic, and governmental structures, and had given rise to a situation of general distress. When a few months later the then President-elect made his first reference to the Philippine question in a speech delivered at Staunton, Va., at which, in passing, he said that he hoped that the Philippines would soon cease to be the frontier of the United States, absurd reports of the effect of this speech upon the Philippines were instantly circulated. Here is what a correspondent of a great metropolitan paper said:

"When the words of his Staunton interjection—'The Philippines are our frontier; I hope that we shall soon be able to deprive ourselves of that frontier'—had been published in the Philippines there fell upon

the flourishing and expanding business of the islands a most killing frost. * * *

"Like a clock in a house shaken by an earthquake, that new-found business expansion stopped; like a pulse in the body struck by lightning, the current of its life ceased to throb. * * *

"The banks shut down on practically all loans and overdrafts. Capitalists, accustomed to place their money through brokers on commercial loans, drew in their funds; insurance companies and other institutions that had been investing their surpluses in local enterprises closed their doors to such transactions. * * * Professional men and salary earners who had been putting their savings into local industries began to draw out their money as fast as possible, and to divert their monthly balances toward the savings banks. * * *

"Real estate values have fallen off nearly 100 per cent, or it would be more exact to say that practically all movement in real estate has stopped, and it has become impossible to estimate values from market transactions. The business is paralyzed.

"If we use a little common sense in reading this report, its absurdity will at once be revealed to us. Only the most shameless determination to use every means to prejudice public opinion without the slightest regard for truth could explain how any sane person would write such statements. Can you imagine that the speech of any man, even though he be the President-elect of the United States, could produce instantaneous paralysis in business, immediate falling off of the value of real property to such an extent as to leave no value whatsoever—for this is what a hundred per cent decrease in value means? The author of such reports insults the intelligence of his readers.

"From the same sources that originated this stupendous story a cry went up to heaven when, but a few months later, and already as President of the United States, President Wilson announced his policy for the Philippines and appointed a majority of Filipinos to the commission. They called this step revolutionary and predicted every calamity for the islands in consequence.

GOV. HARRISON'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

"Then when the present Governor General sent by President Wilson tried in earnest to carry out the policy of his superior by giving the Filipinos opportunity to show their administrative capacity, these same persons stopped at nothing short of personal insult in their effort to discredit the governor. Gov. Harrison found upon his arrival in the Philippines a bureaucratic, top-heavy government, and he has substituted for it a simpler, more scientific, and less expensive one. He found that offices which could and should be filled by Filipinos were unnecessarily in the hands of Americans, notwithstanding the promise of his predecessors that such offices would be given to the natives of the islands, and he proceeded to redeem these pledges.

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He found an extravagant government, whose outlay exceeded its income, and he placed it on a self-supporting basis. He found the faith of the Filipino people in the representatives of the American Government in the islands shaken, both because of this extravagance and of a general failure to fulfill promises. He proceeded to restore the confidence of those people in the United States, so that to-day, as never before, you have your best friends in the people of the islands.

"How has this patriotic and statesmanlike endeavor of Gov. Harrison been received by the opponents of Philippine independence? The answer is to be found in the public prints. The governor has been accused of demoralizing the service, of "kicking out" American employees, of creating anti-American sentiment in the islands, of having produced depression in business—in a word, of bringing about a chaotic situation there.

"I shall not impose upon your kindness by wasting your time and mine in answering these biased and self-interested critics. Enough for me to say that no man in whatever position or of whatever nationality was ever given by the Filipino people such a magnificent reception as was tendered to Gov. Gen. Harrison upon his arrival at Manila, because the fame of his righteousness and ability had preceded him there. Delegations from every Province of the archipelago came to Manila to greet their governor. I know of persons who traveled on foot through the mountains and valleys of northern Luzon for several days in order to have the pleasure of hearing the inaugural address of the new governor general. The largest crowd ever gathered in Manila, numbering thousands upon thousands, were aligned upon the route from the pier, where Gov. Harrison and his wife landed, to the Luneta, where he delivered his inaugural address and conveyed to us the message he brought from the President of the United States. Flowers, banners, arches, and bands of music gave evidence of the cordiality of the reception to Gov. Harrison by the Filipinos. So touching a sight will never fade from the memory of Gov. Harrison though he should live a thousand years.

"The people of the Philippines have not been disappointed in Gov. Harrison. His popularity has been increasing, and during the short time of his administration he has demonstrated that we were right in placing our confidence and hope in him. His achievements will speak of American intelligence, justice, and patriotism long after his detractors are dead and forgotten. How hard he has worked and how economical and efficient a government he has given us! He has not only honored himself and the President who has appointed him, but he has also hon-

ored his own people and has given credit to the whole American Nation.

"The effect of the so much criticized step taken by President Wilson in giving us the control of the Philippine Legislature and of the policy of Gov. Harrison in appointing Filipinos to responsible administrative position has been to restore faith and confidence in the American Government on the part of the Filipino people, while the practical result has been efficiency and economy in the service. Before the Filipinos had full control of their legislature there had been for three consecutive years a deadlock concerning the appropriation bill between the popular house, which refused to indorse the extravagance of the commission, and the commission itself, which insisted upon such extravagance. The government expenditures were defrayed through executive orders, and they were always in excess of the ordinary revenues. Bonds had to be issued and a part of the gold-standard fund spent to meet the deficit. Since the Filipinos have had the control of both branches of the legislature there has been enacted an appropriation bill, which does away with the unnecessary expenses of the government. Thus, further deficits have been avoided.

THE NEW PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE A SUCCESS.

"The conditions existing in the islands prior to the inauguration of President Wilson's policy are set forth by Gov. Gen. Harrison in his first message to the Philippine Legislature in the following words:

"From June 30, 1908, when the surplus in the insular treasury was ₱17,499,894.97, the surplus has fallen as of June 30, 1913, to ₱14,230,220.23. Of this sum, however, about ₱5,000,000 is only nominally available, it being invested in supplies and having been carried to the surplus account in 1911, thus leaving an actual cash surplus in hand at the conclusion of the last fiscal year of only about ₱9,000,000.

"This shrinkage in the available surplus of the government has come about notwithstanding the fact that during this period of four years the sum of ₱6,000,000 has been obtained by the sale of an issue of public-works bonds and expended out of the treasury, and notwithstanding the further fact that a little less than three and a half million pesos from the gold standard fund has during this period passed through the treasury in the same way. * * *

"Our treasury is therefore obviously approaching a point where a deficit of four and a half million pesos confronts us. How, then, shall we avoid this deficit and restore the finances of our government to a normal and self-supporting condition? In my judgment, but one course is open * * * and that is economy of the most drastic kind.

"A considerable burden is also laid upon the treasury by the large proportion of American employees in this government. While the enunciated policy has been to reduce this number as rapidly as possible consistent with the demands of fairness and efficiency, the last

annual report of the bureau of civil service shows that there were more Americans having a permanent status in the Philippine civil service in 1912 than in any previous year since 1905.

"We find, moreover, that as incident to highly centralized bureaucratic government a number of offices have been created and salaries have been raised without, what seems to me to have been, due authority of law; and as further inevitable result of bureaucracy, here as elsewhere, too many offices now exist.

"A further and perhaps considerable saving might be effected by a change in our method of appropriation; good usage elsewhere commends to us a system of direct treasury appropriations."

"The situation after the first session of the legislature, when in both branches thereof Filipinos alone, with the exception of the Governor General, were seated, it described in the following message of the governor to the legislature at the closing day of its session:

"Gentleman of the Legislature, nearly four months ago I addressed you for the first time. I came to you then with high expectations of your legislative ability; those expectations have now been justified. During the regular session which has just elapsed your labors for the public welfare have been earnest, industrious, and efficient. Your course has been one of progress and economy of the public moneys. Many laws of great importance have been enacted. Among these is the general appropriation act for the current expenditures of the government, the first to become law since 1910. This act effected many reforms in the fabric of this government, and has met with widespread approval. Peace and prosperity throughout the islands and tranquillity of the public mind bear evidence of this approval. The President of the United States has expressed his appreciation, and the Secretary of War has sent the following message:

"'I congratulate you upon the passage for the first time in three years of a general appropriation bill and on the fact that the bill was passed unanimously by both houses. I have no doubt but that there were, as to a great many features, differences of opinion, but it is a source of satisfaction to the department that such differences were satisfactorily adjusted. Please extend to both houses of the Philippine Legislature my congratulations on this event and express to them my hope that this is but an indication of what may be expected in the future.'

"The art of government is, in many respects, the highest of the sciences. You have already demonstrated the ability of a legislature composed almost entirely of Filipinos to enact difficult and progressive legislation. In the days to come you will maintain the high standard you have already raised.

"This is the testimony of a competent and unbiased observer. Gov. Harrison, before going to the Philippines, was the ranking Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. His ability and patriotism was unanimously conceded by both Senators and Representatives, who had every reason to know him intimately, because for many years he had been working with them, and when appointed governor of the Philippines he was paid a tribute by the Senate and

by the House seldom, if ever, given to other officials. His nomination was not only unanimously approved in the Senate, but was confirmed within 24 hours after it was sent in, contrary to the practice of that body. In the House of Representatives both Democrats and Republicans joined in the indorsement of the appointment. This is what the Republican leader, Mr. MANN, said of this appointment:

"Mr. Speaker, in this connection and in behalf of this side of the House I desire to congratulate the President and the country upon the appointment of Francis Burton Harrison to the high position of governor of the Philippine Islands. I believe that no better selection could have been made out of the entire population of the United States, and that the action of the President is a guaranty to the country that the Philippine question will receive careful and honest consideration.

"The American people may well accept the judgment of the present Governor General as to the capacity of the Filipino people. Reasoning from that judgment, we have apparently come to the point when the Filipino people may properly ask the Congress of the United States to enact a bill now recognizing Philippine independence.

INDEPENDENCE WILL BENEFIT AMERICAN TAXPAYERS.

"I said at the beginning of my remarks that the granting of independence, which is demanded by your duty toward the Filipino people, would also be to your financial interest, and this I am prepared to prove. True it is that if the Philippines were free there would be fewer and ultimately no American officeholders in the islands; true it is also that there would be more difficulty for certain American trusts in 'cornering' our products; but it is also true that the American people would not have to bear the burden of fortifying and defending the Philippines, an undertaking which costs not a cent less than $40,000,000 yearly, millions which, although rich people like you can well spare, should be spent in this country or left in the pocket of the American taxpayer. Your separation from the Philippines will at once relieve you of the only weak point where you could easily be stricken in case of war.

"There are those, however, who assert that by holding the Philippines you get the benefit derived from having a market for your surplus and a field wherefrom you can buy your needed tropical products. Why should you lose your trade on account of our national freedom is more than I can comprehend. If our trade is profitable to you now, why should not it be when governmental ties between us are cut? Is it perchance because while under your control you are taking undue advantage of us? No; certainly not. Is it because our trade is regulated by laws

mutually beneficial to us? Why can not the same trade regulations be established by treaty between the Republic of the United States and the Republic of the Philippines? If you give the Filipinos their liberty, there will be nothing that they will not gladly concede to you. You will have not only their trade but their gratitude, and you will not only benefit yourselves and them but you will have given then the last touch to the work for the liberation of mankind you began in 1776. America's flag may then cease to fly over our public buildings, but her influence will be our inspiration, and we and our children will bless the day when Dewey entered the Bay of Manila."

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